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# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION,

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## I. — *The Caesareum and the Worship of Augustus at Alexandria.*

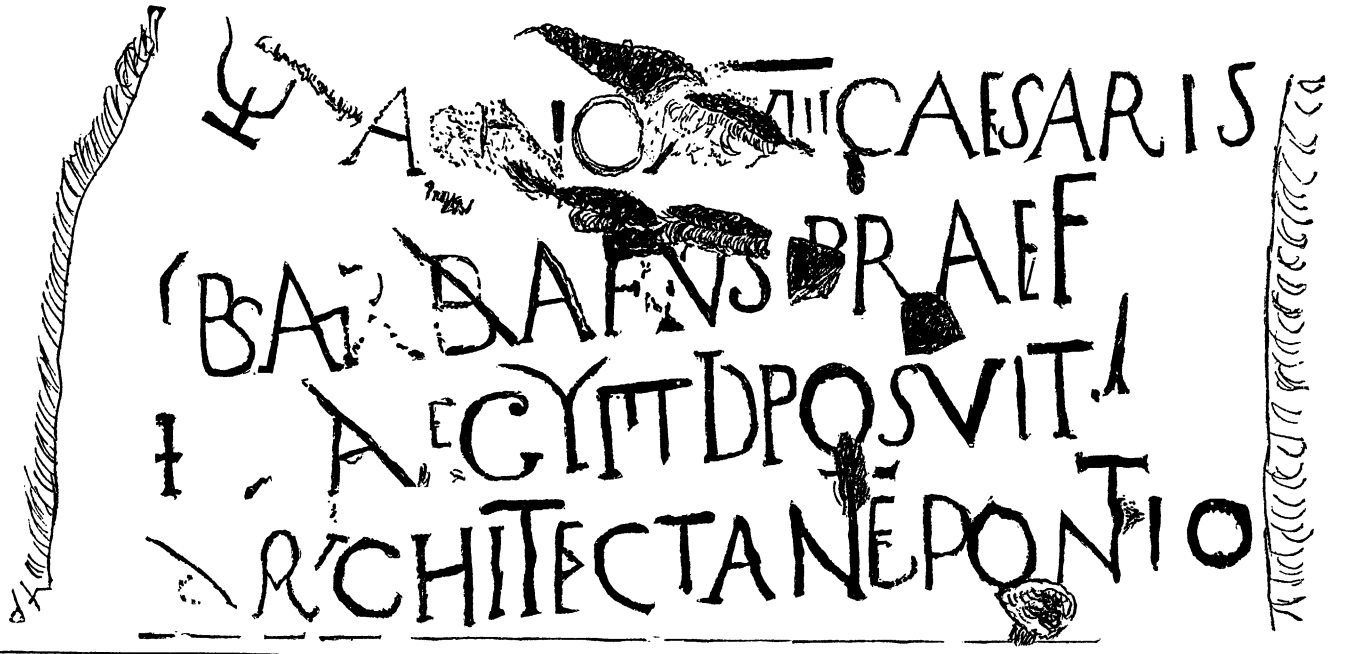
By AUGUSTUS C. MERRIAM,

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When Mr. Dixon, in 1877, was engaged in removing the fallen obelisk of Alexandria to London, he excavated about the base of its fellow, now standing in Central Park, New York, to ascertain the form of the original pedestal, and discovered upon the mutilated claw of one of the bronze crabs supporting the obelisk a Greek and a Latin inscription. These were dimmed by a thick rust, but after the removal of this by the aid of acids, they were read, and published in an Alexandrian paper, by Neroutsos, who also published them in the "Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique," 1877 and 1878. Mommsen copied them from the Alexandrian paper, in his "Staatsrecht," 1877, and from the Bulletin, in the "Ephemeris Epigraphica," 1879, with a page of comment; while Lumbroso treated of them in the "Bullettino dell' Instituto" of Rome, 1878. Soon after the crabs were brought here by Commander Gorringe, the inscriptions were published by G. L. Feuardent, with some notes which were afterwards embodied by Commander Gorringe in his "Egyptian Obelisks." All of these editors accepted the original reading of Neroutsos as correct, in accordance with which Barbarus, Prefect of Egypt, was said to have erected the obelisk at Alexandria in the eighth year of Augustus, B. C. 23–22.




L IH KAIΣAP[O]Σ
BAPBAPOΣ ANEΘHKE
APXITEKTONOYNTO[Σ]
ΠONTIOY



A[N]NO [XV]III CAESARIS
BARBA[R]VS PRAEF
AEGYPTI POSVIT
[A]RCHITECTANTE PONTIO

Attention being called last winter to some discrepancies existing between the published readings of the inscriptions and their actual appearance on the bronze, I began an investigation of the matter, and proved from Strabo, Dio Cassius, and Josephus that the date 23-22 was historically impossible if Barbarus was Prefect,[1] and then discovered that L IH was the real reading of the Greek date, and ANNOXVIII that of the Latin, bringing the actual year of erection down to 13–12 B. C., a date wholly free from historical objections; furthermore, that Barbarus was at home in his native Casinum probably at the very time when the former reading had made him Prefect of Egypt. The full details of this investigation have been given in a monograph recently published,[2] and I wish here merely to put on record the correct form of the inscriptions in fac-simile, and restored.

Mommsen, after treating of the inscriptions themselves in the Ephemeris, proceeds to speak of the obelisks, and the temple before which they stood, as follows: "These inscriptions inform us by whom and when these obelisks were erected in Alexandria. The place where they stood is mentioned by Pliny (xxxvi. 14): *Duo (obeliscí) sunt Alexandreae ad portum in Caesaris templo, quos excidit Mesphres rex, quadragenum binum cubitorum.* Strabo also speaks of this temple (794), and by him it is called *τὸ Καισάριον.* It is described more at length by Philo (Legatio ad Caium, 22), where he asserts that an imperial form of government is preferable to liberty, because, throughout the whole world, all temples are far surpassed by those of Caesar, and especially at Alexandria; *οὐδὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τέμενος οἷον τὸ λεγόμενον Σεβάστιον ἐπιβατηρίου Καίσαρος νεώς, κ. τ. λ.* But Neroutsos incorrectly assumes that this temple was built to Augustus. Rather, since it is called the temple of Caesar by Pliny, and the as-

[1] Since this was written I have learned that Herman Schiller had already arrived at the same conclusion (Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit, I. 1. 198, A 1), having rejected the authority of the earlier reading of the inscription on the ground of its irreconcilability with the evidence of the historians. See Berliner Philolog. Wochenschrift, Jan. 5, 1884.

[2] The Greek and Latin Inscriptions on the Obelisk-Crab in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1883.

cription *Caesar Appulsor* suits best the father, Augustus must be thought to have consecrated the temple to his deified father, for he certainly would not, even in Egypt, have built it to himself. Surely, since he, in following his father's footsteps as it were, had himself also landed in Egypt, it is presumable that the worshippers of Augustus in Egypt offered sacred rites to him also in the same temple; and the more so that, according to the testimony of the Acta Arvalium, the temples of Caesar belonged to all the deified (*divi*). Hence, it is easily understood why the temple of Caesar was commonly called by the Alexandrians the Sebastion."

Some of these points deserve consideration. Not many words need be spent on the somewhat singular statement that Philo "asserts that an imperial form of government is preferable to liberty, *because*, throughout the whole world, all other temples are far surpassed by those of Caesar, and especially at Alexandria." If our editions of Philo presented any such inconsequent proposition, I incline to think that Mommsen would have been among the first to propose some emendation of the text. What Philo did say will be seen below.

Pliny's expression, *Caesaris templo*, tends to show that the temple was that of Julius and not of Augustus, Mommsen thinks. This resolves itself into a simple question of Pliny's usage of the word Caesar. A careful reading of the Natural History yields the following statistics: Caesar Dictator occurs 31 times; Caesar Augustus, 6 times; Tiberius Caesar, 21 times; C. or Caius Caesar, for Agrippa's son, 7 times, for Caligula, 8 times, for Julius, 3 times; Claudius Caesar, 32 times; Germanicus Caesar, 9 times; Drusus Caesar, 4 times; Nero Caesar, once; Vespasian Caesar, once; Titus, twice; Domitian, once; L. Julius, twice; Vopiscus, once.

*Caesar* alone refers plainly to Julius 38 times, either the title Dictator having been employed just before, or some other circumstance, fixing easily the allusion. All of these cases but 10 occur in the sections devoted to astronomical matters, where the calendar of Julius is followed, and the whole is introduced by *Caesar Dictator*. *Caesar* alone designates Augustus about 10 times, Claudius 3 times, Nero once.

These are in the main explicit enough from their attendant circumstances; so that the phrase in question is really to be compared only with such expressions as *in Caesaris piscinis* (ix. 78, x. 89), *in pluribus Caesaris villis* (xxxii. 7), *domus Caesaris in Palatio* (xxxv. 36), denominated *Palatinas domos Caesarum* at xxxvi. 4 (cf. *laurus, janitrix Caesarum,* xv. 39); in all, or the most of which, Augustus was the original possessor, but they belonged later to his successors. Quite similar is the expression *in forum Caesaris,* xvi. 86, and xxxv. 45, where one is probably the forum of Augustus, the other that of Julius. The conclusion is that no argument in the case can be based on Pliny's usage of Caesar, except that the context must in general determine who is referred to; and, following this, we should attribute the reference in the passage in question to Augustus rather than Julius, inasmuch as it is both preceded and followed by an allusion to the time of that Emperor.

Here, however, a fact must be taken into account which apparently has escaped the notice of Mommsen, as of many others who have touched the subject. This is a statement of Dio's (li. 15), that after the death of Antony, at Alexandria, his eldest son Antyllus, upon the entrance of the forces of Augustus into the city, fled to the Heroum of Julius which Cleopatra had built, and was there slain.[1] Suetonius, in recounting the circumstance, mentions only the image of the deified Julius;[2] Plutarch says nothing of either (Anton. 81). Here, then, we have positive evidence that there was at that time a building of some kind at Alexandria consecrated by Cleopatra to Julius, and containing his statue. The Heroum is usually a small chapel of indefinite size; but it is the same word which Dio uses many times of the temple erected by Augustus, in the Forum at Rome, to Julius, on the spot where the body of the Dictator was burned, and where a column and altar at first were placed. This structure is called *νεώς* by Appian (Bell.

[1] *Ἀντυλλος, καίτοι τήν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος θυγατέρα ἠγγυημένος καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἡρῷον, ὃ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα ἐπεποίηκει, καταφυγών, εὐθὺς ἐσφάγη.*

[2] Simulacro Divi Juli, ad quod post multas et irritas preces confugerat, abreptum interemit. Aug. 17.

Civil. ii. 148), and *aedes* by Vitruvius (iii.); while Pliny, speaking of Augustus, uses the phrases, *in templo Caesaris patris* (xxxv. 10), *in delubro patris Caesaris* (xxxv. 36), both in allusion to this shrine. Hence, the Heroum at Alexandria may possibly have been of some considerable size, but it cannot answer to Philo's description of the Sebastion in that particular. Of its situation we have no direct information.

Next in the order of time comes the statement of Strabo, who, in describing the city of Alexandria, proceeds from the Lochias, on the east, round the harbor to the Poseidion, from which Antony built out the mole where he constructed his Timonium, after the battle of Actium, remains of which are still to be seen. "Next," he says, "is the Caesareum;" but he vouchsafes no further information. Its site, however, is fixed by his description to be at least in the close vicinity of that where the obelisks were erected by Barbarus. The guesses at what Strabo meant by his *Καισάριον* have been numerous; my own opinion will be seen below.

Our main knowledge of the temple and its surroundings must be derived from the elaborate description of Philo Judaeus. This learned and eloquent Jew was a native of Alexandria; and as he was a man of advanced years when he was chosen to head the deputation sent by the Jews of his native city to Caligula at Rome, in A. D. 40, he must have been quite a lad when Barbarus erected the obelisks, and may have witnessed the very spectacle itself of this achievement of Pontius. At all events, he was perfectly familiar with the whole history of the temple and its worship. The occasion of his embassy to Rome, of which he has given us so vivid a picture, arose from the inordinate desire of the half-crazed Emperor, not only to be deemed a god, but to be actually worshipped as such in every quarter of his dominions. He had been quick to accept the honors paid him by the Alexandrians, who had placed images of his majesty even in the chapels of the Jews, a desecration which these had never before suffered from Roman emperor or Ptolemaic king, and which was now sought to be removed by the eloquent representations of these deputies. Their efforts were unsuccessful,

but the assassination of Caligula within a few months relieved them from the abhorred profanation. The account which Philo afterwards wrote of the affair has come down to us under the title *Legatio ad Caium*, Caligula being almost universally known to his contemporaries and the ancient historians as Caius. Philo's allusion to the Caesareum, or Sebastion as he styles it, is introduced in the course of a contrast which he draws between the unblushing insistence with which Caligula claimed that he was a god, and demanded corresponding worship, and the greater merits but greater moderation of his predecessors. "Why," he asks, "should the Alexandrians thrust the images of Caligula into the Jewish chapels with such eager devotion, when they had never done this in the days of the Ptolemies, although they were accustomed to believe these to be gods, and to inscribe and call them such? But worship of their kings was not surprising in them, when they filled their temples with ibises, and dogs, and wolves, and all manner of beasts, which they adored. Perhaps, however, they will now say what they would not have said then, (for they are accustomed to pay fulsome adulation to the prosperity of their rulers rather than to the rulers themselves,) that, as the Emperors are so much greater than the Ptolemies, so ought they to receive greater honors. But if so, why should Caius receive higher honors than Tiberius, so much his superior in every way? And what shall we say of him who transcended human nature in all virtues, who on account of the greatness of his autocratic sovereignty, as well as his nobility of character, was the first to receive the appellation of Sebastos, obtaining it, not through successive transmissions in the family, as some portion of an inheritance, but being himself the source of worshipful majesty to his successors? When the entire human race seemed destined to perish in internecine conflict, it was he that turned them to better ways, and deservedly won the appellation of Defender from Evil (Ἀλεξίκακος). This is the Caesar who calmed the storms that had burst forth on every side, who healed the common maladies of Greeks and Barbarians, which had risen from the east and south, and spread to the north and the setting sun. This is

he who struck off, not merely loosed, the fetters which bound and galled the habitable world. This is he who delivered the sea from piratical craft and filled it with merchant marine. This is he who bestowed freedom upon all cities, who brought order out of chaos, who civilized and harmonized wild and bestial nations, who extended the limits of Hellas to include many Hellases, — the guardian of peace, the grantor of all rights, who hid nothing good or noble in all his life. But this unsurpassed benefactor, during all the three and forty years that he ruled over Egypt, they hid behind the veil in comparison, setting in our chapels neither statue nor image nor painting in his behoof. And yet,[1] if to any one novel and incomparable honors ought to have been decreed, to him were they becoming; not only because he was the very source of the family of the Augusti, nor merely because he was the first and greatest and universal benefactor, having proved himself such by transferring the helm of the ship of state to a single pilot wonderful in his directing wisdom, namely, himself, in place of the rule of the many, — for the (Homeric) saying,

'Ill fares the state where many masters rule,'

is opportune, since universal suffrage is productive of multifarious evils, — but *because the entire inhabited world decreed honors to him coequal with those of the Olympian gods. And proofs of this are to be found in the temples*, the propylaea, the

[1] Καὶ μὴν εἴ τινι καιναὶς καὶ ἐξαιρέτους ἔδει ψηφίζεσθαι τιμάς, ἐκείνῳ προσῆκον ἦν, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τοῦ σεβαστίου γένους ἀρχή τις ἐγένετο καὶ πηγή, οὐδὲ ὅτι πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος καὶ κοινὸς εὐεργέτης, ἀντὶ πολυαρχίας ἑνὶ κυβερνήτῃ παραδοὺς τὸ κοινὸν σκάφος οἰακονομεῖν, ἑαυτῷ, θαυμασίῳ τὴν ἡγεμονικὴν ἐπιστήμην — τὸ γὰρ "Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη" λέλεκται δεόντως, ἐπειδὴ πολυτρόπων αἰτίαι κακῶν αἱ πολυψηφίαι — ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη τὰς ἰσολυμπίους αὐτῷ τιμὰς ἐψηφίσατο. Καὶ μαρτυροῦσι καὶ ναοί, προπύλαια, προτεμνίσματα, στοαί, ὥστε ὅσαι τῶν πόλεων, ἢ νέαι ἢ παλαιαί, ἔργα φέρουσι μεγαλοπρεπῆ, τῷ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει τῶν Καισαρείων παρευημερεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Οὐδὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τέμενος, οἷον τὸ λεγόμενον Σεβάστιον, ἐπιβατηρίου Καίσαρος νεώς, ἀντικρὺ τῶν εὐορμοτάτων λιμένων μετέωρος ἵδρυται μέγιστος καὶ ἐπιφανέστατος, καὶ οἷος οὐχ ἑτέρωθι, κατάπλεως ἀναθημάτων, ἐν γραφαῖς καὶ ἀνδριάσι, καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ περιβεβλημένος ἐν κύκλῳ, τέμενος εὐρύτατον, στοαῖς, βιβλιοθήκαις, ἀνδρῶσιν, ἄλσεσι, προπυλαίοις, εὐρυχωρίαις, ὑπαίθροις, ἅπασι τοῖς εἰς πολυτελέστατον κόσμον ἠσκημένον. ἐλπὶς καὶ ἀναγομένοις καὶ καταπλέουσι σωτήριος. Philo, Leg. ad Cai. 22.

vestibules, the porticos; so that the architectural splendors in every city, whether young or old, are surpassed in beauty and size by the temples of Caesar, and especially in our own Alexandria. For there is no such sanctuary as that called Sebastion, the temple of Caesar Epibaterios, which stands rearing aloft its stately front, face to face with the fairest of harbors, — the largest as well as the most conspicuous of objects, to which nothing is comparable elsewhere, crowded with offerings of paintings and statues, highly wrought with gold and silver on every side, its sacred enclosure of the most spacious dimensions, with its porticos, libraries, halls, groves, propylaea, open spaces, promenades, all adorned in the richest manner, — the saving hope of all who weigh anchor from the harbor or enter within its shelter. Accordingly, though possessed of such excellent reasons, though all men were everywhere acquiescent, they did not introduce any innovations touching our chapels, but the old customs of their fathers were still retained by each. Did they, then, omit any act of adoration that was owed to Caesar? Who in his senses would say that? Why, then, did they neglect this? I will tell you frankly, without reservation. They knew that his anxious solicitude was just as great to secure their patrial rights to each, as to the Romans themselves, and that he accepted honors of this kind, not because he blindly deceived himself in order to destroy the customs of the several nations, but because he deferred to the majesty of his autocratic power, which becomes more commanding and revered by such adoration. That he was never enslaved or puffed up by such extravagant honors is clearly proved by the fact that he never wished himself to be addressed as Master or God (Suet. Aug. 53), and was vexed if any one so named him."

In this argument of Philo's we have many points of interest to the question at issue. I do not see in his words a single hint of the slightest kind that this temple was the sanctuary of Julius. To Philo it is the worthy shrine of the greatest of human beings, Augustus, whose worship, though unbefitting a Jew, might well be forgiven and fittingly defended in a Gentile. Not only this, but it does not seem to enter the

thoughts of Philo that Julius ever had anything to do with this temple, which certainly appears strange if it were originally dedicated to him.

In the second place, we observe that Philo's language presents the divine honors paid to Augustus in Egypt under a somewhat different aspect from that of the Ptolemaic kings. When Alexander the Great conquered Egypt he gave out that he was the son of Ammon, and for motives of state policy he maintained this attitude there; because it had been the custom from ancient days, in this land of many gods, to build temples to their kings, and regard them as the divine emanation of the Sun, or some other deity. The Ptolemies pursued the same policy; and in the Rosetta Stone we find the reigning king, Epiphanes, called "the living image of Zeus, son of the Sun, Ptolemy the eternal, beloved of Phtha," "him that was born of the deities Philopatores, Ptolemy and Arsinoe," "the present god, born of a god and goddess, even as Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, the defender of his father Osiris;" then his line is traced back through the gods Philopatores, the gods Euergetae, the gods Adelphi, and the gods Soteres.[1] Others of the royal family were also numbered among the deities, in addition to the reigning king and queen; and these ascriptions were continued down to the close of the dynasty, Cleopatra the famous being styled the New Goddess on some of her coins, and she assumed the title of the New Isis after the Armenian victories of Antony (Plut. Ant. 54). Antony himself claimed and received in Alexandria the veneration and worship of the Egyptians, as the fructifying Nile-god, Osiris. Hence, when Augustus became master of the known world, the people of Egypt were prepared as usual to accept him as the new ruler and new divinity. But Augustus was not a second Antony, nor indeed a second Julius, who had been prompt to welcome his own apotheosis, even at Rome, in his lifetime. As in Egypt, so in Western Asia, it had long been customary to deify their rulers, and Roman proconsuls had often received such honors. But at Rome, from the time of

[1] See C. I. G. 3834, where the Emperor Antoninus himself, in a letter to the people of Azani, names his predecessors in similar language.

Romulus to that of Julius Caesar, scarcely a case was known, though some ground for it was found in the worship paid to the Lares. Octavianus eagerly availed himself of the opportunity to deify Julius directly after his death, as a means of exalting himself in the eyes of the vulgar, as the adopted son of the *Divus*. But he saw clearly that it would be a mistake for him to proceed further at Rome, at least for the present. After his first burst of fury and revenge was over, and the assassins of Caesar were destroyed, his policy was henceforth one of peace, and consolidation of the power which Julius had won, but had lost too soon to render permanent. The fate of his father was ever before him, and he entered into a cool calculation as to the surest means of avoiding the perils which had confronted and destroyed the other. While retaining the reins of power firmly in his hands, he acted the part of a republican patriot with studied moderation. Unusual titles and royal prerogatives he studiously avoided in appearance, while he gradually assumed their realities without resistance, and without shock to the feelings of his subjects. In fact, he pursued a general policy of humility, which tended greatly to strengthen him in his delicate and difficult position amid the contending factions and secret conspiracies of his reign. Not only was this true in his relations to the state, but also in his attitude towards his own deification and worship. At Rome, he insisted unswervingly upon his refusal of the expressed wishes of many to erect temples to him within the city (Suet. Aug. 52), and Dio asserts (li. 20) that no one of any consideration ventured to engage in his worship within the borders of Italy; but this statement is to be accepted with considerable allowance. Inscriptions show that there existed both a *flamen Augustalis* and an Augusteum at Pisa in his lifetime, and a *flamen*, or *sacerdos*, and *ministri* in his worship occur in inscriptions from Pompeii and Praeneste, while the Salii named him among the other gods in their songs. His friend Vedius Pollio, who became noted especially from an uncanny habit of feeding his unlucky slaves to the *murenae* in his fish-ponds, and who left these ponds to Augustus when he died, B. C. 15 (Dio, liv. 23), cherished a Caesareum within his grounds

(Orelli, 2509). Such private worship, offered to him and his Lares and Genius, with altars at the firesides, and at numerous shrines about the city, became more and more common at Rome as year succeeded year, and he found that the time was ripe for it; while his deification in the lines of Virgil, Horace, Propertius, and Ovid is too familiar to need reference. In other words, while officially frowning upon open ascriptions as god, he actually regarded them with a lenient, if not a fostering eye; fully aware, as Philo says, how important a factor they formed in maintaining, when rightly wielded, the power which he had striven so hard to attain. In the distant provinces the case was different from that at Rome. The cities of Sicily placed him among their gods as early as 35 B. C. (App. Bel. Civ. v. 132). In the East he could permit their usual custom to be followed with more impunity, for the very reason that it accorded with the habits of the people, instead of contradicting them as at Rome. The victory of Actium made him master of the East as well as the West; and as their ruler he permitted the people of Pergamus and Nicomedia to erect temples in his honor, with the condition, however, that Roma should share in his worship. This goddess had long been the object of adoration in the provinces, and to place her side by side with himself in these temples was another stroke of policy, which exhibits the same astute mind in the definite pursuit of his settled aim. This condition he is said to have imposed upon all the provinces where temples were erected to him (Suet. Aug. 52), and we find it complied with at Ancyra (*θεῷ Σεβαστῷ καὶ Θεᾷ Ῥώμῃ*), and at the seaside Caesarea of Herod, where colossal statues were erected to both,—that of Augustus modelled after the Zeus at Olympia, and that of Roma after the Here of Argos (Joseph. Bel. Jud. i. 21). We find this community of the two deities also at Cyme, Mylasa, Nysa, and Cyzicus in Asia Minor, on the Acropolis at Athens, and at Pola in Istria. While Augustus was in Spain, B. C. 26–25, the people of Tarraco obtained permission to erect an altar to him there. Later, the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens was completed and dedicated to his Genius, and Herod's zeal was so great that Josephus declares that he filled,

not only his own country, but all the regions dependent on him, with temples in honor of Caesar (Bel. Jud. i. 21).

What was the actual state of the case, then, in Egypt? From Philo we see that the Emperor's interdict against open ascription as god or master, *dominus*, δεσπότης, — the relation of master and slave — (Suet. Aug. 53), was known; but Philo bears equal testimony to the fact that "the whole inhabited world decreed him honors equal to the Olympian gods," that temples were built to him, especially the Sebastion, and that he accepted this worship for reasons of state. Upon the authority of Sharpe (Hist. Egypt, ii. p. 94) we have it distinctly asserted that "In the hieroglyphic inscriptions on these temples (Philae, Talmis, Tentyris) Augustus is called Autocrator Caesar, and is styled Son of the Sun, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, with the other titles which had always been given by the priests to the Ptolemies and their own native sovereigns for so many centuries. Thus the historians of Rome, who are almost deceived by the modest behavior of Augustus, and are in doubt whether he was sincere in begging the Senate every tenth year to allow him to lay aside the weight of empire, may have those doubts cleared up in Egypt; for there he had assumed the style and title of king within ten years after the death of Cleopatra." At Dabode, just above Philae, are to be seen the ruins of a temple whose sculptures were "mostly added by Augustus and Tiberius. The name of Augustus in one instance is followed by the expression 'God Philometor,' though in the other ovals he is the beloved of Pthah and Isis." (Wilk. Top. Thebes, p. 476.) Here, again, we find the titles of the reigning Ptolemies ascribed to Augustus, and his worship implied. The inscription of the temple at Philae consecrated under Barbarus, B. C. 13–12, has no title of divinity, but that of Tentyris, A. D. 1, under Octavius, a member of the Emperor's own gens, styles him Zeus Eleutherios. This is upon the propylon of the temple of Isis, which was built by the people of the town and Nome, and consecrated in behalf of Augustus. Likewise in the great temple at Philae, Catilius, in B. C. 8, offering his inscription of adoration, says, "Consecrated to Caesar,

ruler of the sea, a Zeus swaying limitless regions, son of Zeus, — (Caesar) the Deliverer, Master of Europe and Asia, Star of all Hellas, that rose as a mighty Zeus the Savior." Here, as before, we have the forbidden appellation of God, and that of Master besides. This is poetic, it is true; but when taken in connection with what has already been advanced, it may be accepted in its full sense, just as the "god Augustus" occurs in an inscription of Apamea (C. I. G. 4474), and in others from Cyme in Mysia (C. I. G. 3524), and Lesbos, and Delos, all belonging to the lifetime of the Emperor.

With such precedents, then, was no temple to be built and consecrated in his honor at Alexandria, the very hot-bed of adulation of rulers, — where, as Philo says, no readier tongues were to be found among either Greeks or barbarians to salute as god,[1] where this ascription was held in such awe that they bestowed it on ibises and serpents, and where they were accustomed to employ all the expressions which other nations address to their gods, not masked and veiled, but openly and unblushingly?[2] Mommsen assumes that Augustus would not have erected the temple to himself, which indeed is very likely; in fact, it was the people or rulers of the several places themselves who erected the temples in his honor, as in Asia Minor, Judea, Gaul, Spain, Greece, and in Egypt itself. Besides, if he had done anything of the kind himself there, it is likely the temple would have stood, not in Alexandria, but at the neighboring Nicopolis, where Augustus did direct the building, not only of a city, but of temples also, so that the temple of Serapis, in Alexandria, and other ancient shrines, were abandoned, so to speak, in consequence of the erection of those in Nicopolis (Strabo, 795). This statement of Strabo, together with his omission to give any description of the Caesareum, leads me to think that these passages at least refer to the period of his sojourn in Alexandria, at which time the Caesareum was merely

[1] Οὐδένας εὗρεν [Γάϊος] οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων ἐπιτηδειοτέρους Ἀλεξανδρείων εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀμέτρου καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπιθυμίας βεβαίωσιν.

[2] οὐ πλαγίως, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς ἅπασιν ἐχρῶντο κατακόρως τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθος ἐπιφημίζεσθαι θεοῖς. Leg. ad Cai. 25. Cf. Suet. Nero, 20.

the Heroum of Julius, situated within the precinct where the Sebastion was erected a few years later, as a separate and distinct building, when the mushroom Nicopolis had shown the limits of its capabilities, and the people began to enjoy the great benefits accruing to the city from the policy of the Emperor in clearing the canals, and increasing so immensely the trade with Arabia and India, of which Alexandria possessed the monopoly. If we suppose, furthermore, that Strabo wrote, in later life, after he had been at Rome, the passage where he mentions the obelisks of Heliopolis, and adds that two were removed to Rome (805), we have a reasonable explanation for his omitting to speak of those which were transported to Alexandria in B. C. 13–12, after he left that city. It is possible that, in the Sebastion, Roma was made to share with the Emperor in the honors of consecration, but the language of Philo gives no hint of such association, nor does it occur at Philae and Tentyris, nor at Narbonne (Orelli, 2489).

In the inscription of Catilius at Philae we meet with the Poseidonian epithet *Ποντομέδοντι*, "Ruler of the Sea," applied to the Emperor; and this brings us to a consideration of the singular aspect under which he was regarded, according to Philo, in the Sebastion at Alexandria, "the temple of Caesar Epibaterios, the saving hope of all who weigh anchor from the harbor or enter within its shelter."

Mommsen coins the word *Appulsor* as a representative of *Ἐπιβατήριος*, and Yonge translates the phrase, "the temple erected in honor of the disembarkation of Caesar," while the old Latin translator renders, *templum Caesaris navigantium praesidis*. Since Mommsen and Yonge agree on the one hand, as opposed to the Latin version, in the initial idea of the epithet, it is worth while to consider which is right. Here the lexicons help us little. They cite the passage in Pausanias where the epithet is applied to Apollo, and Professor Sophocles in his Byzantine Lexicon adds this from Philo. Perhaps we shall arrive at its usage best by taking up a series of kindred words which relate to the sacrifices that were offered by mariners in harbor. Such sacrifices must have been

as early in their origin as men began to appreciate the dangers of the deep; and prayers would be offered for a safe voyage, at embarking, and thanks and vows would be paid for dangers passed, on landing. Nestor in the Third Odyssey tells of the sacrifices he offered in Tenedos after the fall of Troy, on his way homeward; and upon arriving at Geraestus in Euboea they offer many thighs of bullocks to Poseidon for having passed the mighty deep (γ 159, 179). For such sacrifices we have three classes of words, the most of them rather late as found in literature, notwithstanding the existence of the custom at so early a period.

First, those relating to embarkation, *τὰ ἐμβατήρια*. Philostratus (Vita Apol. Tyan. 227) speaks of sacrificing the *embateria* of the voyage,[1] and Heliodorus (4. 16) mentions some Phoenician merchants in the Greek seas, who are offering their *embaterion* because they expect to start in the morning for Libya, if the wind breathes favorably upon their design. This offering is made to the Tyrian Heracles. Elsewhere (5. 15) he alludes to *embateria* made to Dionysus,[2] as Philostratus (687) does, figuratively of a speech, where the prayer ascends to Protesilaus.[3] Plutarch in his treatise *De Solertia Animalium* (36) uses the word *ἀναβατήριον* for the same rite, and the sacrifice is probably to Apollo, whose dolphin had guided the ship out of storm into the harbor of Cirrha.[4]

Secondly, those relating to disembarkation, *ἐκβατήρια*. Himerius (Eclog. 13. 38) says that his words are struggling to anticipate the future, in their eagerness to unite the ode of embarkation with the songs of disembarkation.[5] Herodes Atticus on recovery from illness sacrifices his *ἐκβατήρια τῆς νόσου* (Philostr. 562). Synonymous with the *ἐκβατήρια* are the *ἀποβατήρια*. Teucer the Cyzicenian says that these were offered by Helenus on landing in Epirus from Troy[6] (Steph.

[1] *ἐμβατήρια πλοῦ θύσαντες.*

[2] *ἐμβατήρια τῳ Διονύσῳ καὶ ᾠδὴν καὶ ἔσπενδον.*

[3] *αἴρωμεν ἐξ Αὐλίδος . . . τὰ δ' ἐμβατήρια τοῦ λόγου τῷ Πρωτεσίλεῳ εὔχθω.*

[4] *τὸ πλοῖον εἰς Κίρραν κατέστησεν· ὅθεν ἀναβατήριον θύσαντες, κ. τ. λ.*

[5] *οἱ δέ μου λόγοι καὶ προλαβεῖν μικροῦ τὸ μέλλον ὠδίνουσι καὶ τοῖς ἐκβατηρίοις μέλεσι τὴν ᾠδὴν τὴν ἐπιβατήριον συνάψαι σπεύδουσιν.*

[6] *θύσαντι ἀποβατήρια ἐν Ἠπείρῳ.*

Byz. in voc. Buthrotum). According to Josephus (Antiq. Jud. i. 3), the place where Noah landed from the ark and offered sacrifice was called by the natives Apobaterion. When Crassus was to cross the Euphrates on his fatal expedition, the omens for departure, *ἀπόβαθρα*, were of the very worst[1] (Dio Cas. xl. 18).

Thirdly, the *ἐπιβατήρια* which may be sacrifices either at embarking or disembarking. The passage quoted above from Himerius represents the former, and the *ἐπίβαθρα* of Apollonius Rhodius (i. 421) is said by the scholiast to be its synonym. For its use in relation to disembarkation we have the reading of the Etymologicum Magnum, which, in quoting the story of Teucer of Cyzicus, instead of using, as Stephanus Byzantius does above, the form *ἐκβατήρια*, gives *ἐπιβατήρια*. The rhetorician Menander (Spengel, Rh. Gr. iii. 377) offers the formal skeleton of the *ἐπιβατήριος λόγος*, or speech to be delivered either upon one's arrival after absence in one's native land, or arrival in some other country, or in address to a governor just arrived to take charge of the city or province. Libanius is cited as authority for either meaning of *ἐπιβατήρια*.

Similar to these are the more familiar *διαβατήρια*, or sacrifices at crossing a river or boundary line, especially in vogue among the Spartans (Thuc. v. 54, 55, 116; Xen. Hel. iv. 7. 2). For Crassus the *diabateria* were bad at the Euphrates (Dio, xl. 18), and Lucullus sacrificed a bull to the same river as his *diabateria* (Plut. Lucul. 24). At rivers the offering is made to the river-god, as Herodotus describes Cleomenes as doing at the Erasinus; and, as the omens were not accepted by this god, Cleomenes marched away to the sea, to which he again sacrificed, and then passed over to Nauplia (Hdt. vi. 76). When starting out upon an expedition from Sparta, the kings first consulted Zeus Agetor, and if he was propitious they marched to the confines and there sacrificed to Zeus and to Athene. This is declared by Xenophon (Rep. Lac. xiii.) to be an institution of Lycurgus. With this custom we must apparently connect the statement of Polyaenus (i. 10. 1) that

[1] καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια τά τε ἀπόβαθρά σφισι δυσχερέστατα ἐγένετο.

when the Heracleidae, Proclus and Temenus, were marching upon Lacedaemon, at the mountains they offered sacrifices to Athene, which he calls *ὑπερβατήρια*.[1]

Next we have to consider the deities to whom the sacrifices were made, and the epithets applied to them. Thus far we have had incidental mention of Poseidon, the Tyrian Heracles, Protesilaus, Dionysus, Apollo, rivers, the sea, Zeus, and Athene, as the object of such adoration, and the epithet of "the Leader" applied to Zeus. According to Ctesias (Pers. 17), Xerxes at the Hellespont sacrificed to Zeus *Diabaterios*, i. e. the god who extends his protection and safeguard to the venture. In like manner, when Alexander the Great crossed the Hellespont, he built altars, where he had started from Europe and where he landed in Asia, to Zeus *Apobaterios* and Athene and Heracles (Arr. An. i. 11. 7). Here again Zeus is the god who has given safe passage, and to whom thanks are due accordingly. When, then, we find an inscription from Hermione (C. I. G. 1213) in which the Emperor Hadrian is called the god, the son of a god, the Zeus *Embaterios*, what other meaning has this ascription than that Hadrian was there worshipped as the deity propitious to mariners who embark for sea? It corresponds exactly to Apollo *Embasios* in Apollonius Rhodius, i. 359, 404, a passage so instructive in this connection that it merits some consideration. When Jason and his companions have launched the Argo in the bay at Pagasae, they build an altar of stones upon the shore; and, standing with two bullocks beside it, Jason uplifts the barley and prays to his patrial Apollo: "Hearken, O king, who didst promise to me at Pytho to show a successful accomplishment of my journey, for thou art thyself the cause of my labors. Therefore do thou conduct our ship thither, and back to Hellas, with all my comrades safe. Then hereafter as many of us as shall return will place upon thy altar goodly sacrifices of bullocks, and others at Pytho, and others at Ortygia, boundless gifts. Now come and accept our sacrifice, which we offer to thee as the first fruits, the *epibathra*

[1] We may further compare the terms *εἰσιτήρια*, *εἰσηλύσια*, *κατιτήρια*, *ἐξιτήριος*.

of this ship. And may I loose, O king, through thy guidance, our anchor with happy fate, and may the wind breathe propitious, by means of which we shall pass the deep with the fair sky above us." Then the sacrifice is completed in due form, and the prophet Idmon interprets the excessive brightness of the altar-flame as the kindly response of the god. This picture presents the whole formula of the *embateria*, and the *epibateria* in one of its aspects, the sacrifice, the prayer, the vows, the expected protection and guidance. In this case the deity addressed is the patrial Apollo, who had been consulted as to the expedition. Pindar, in his Fourth Pythian Ode (194), represents Jason as offering the prayer to Zeus in similar language. In fact, the deity, as may be seen above, is variously chosen, according to the predilections of the individual. Poseidon was no doubt the usual object of the prayer, and the scholiast on the passage of Pindar tries to explain why Zeus was selected instead of the god of the sea.[1]

Again, when Jason and his companions land at Cyzicus and at Cius, they raise an altar on the shore to Apollo *Ekbasios*, and pay their dues to him (Ap. Rh. i. 966, 1186). Hesychius tells us that Artemis was called *Ekbateria* at Siphnos, and the connection of this goddess with the sea is seen from such epithets as *νηοσσόος* (Ap. Rh. i. 570), *Αἰγιναία* (Paus. iii. 14. 2), etc. Upon an Ephesian coin of the Emperor Antonine, Apollo is called the *Embasios* of the Ephesians (Eckhel, ii. 516, *Ἀπόλλων Ἐμβάσιος Ἐφεσίων*).

Now, upon arriving at our Apollo *Epibaterios* and Caesar *Epibaterios* we must needs view the ascription in the same light as those which have already been adduced. In describing the precinct of Hippolytus at Troezene, Pausanias (ii. 32. 2) says that, besides the temple of that hero, there is also a temple of Apollo *Epibaterios*, the offering of Diomed on having escaped the storm which fell upon the Greeks when returning from Ilium. Here the epithet corresponds precisely to *Ekbasios*, and represents the deity to whom the *ekbateria* were offered, the deity who, like the *epibates*, or armed hoplite

[1] Cf. Virg. Aen. v. 772–776; Hor. Epod. 10, etc.

on board a trireme, has battled with the enemy, the storm, and brought the sailor safe and victorious into harbor, as Philo represents Augustus guiding the ship of state safe out of the storms of civil war into the harbor of peace and prosperity. Hence, Caesar *Epibaterios* means the deity to whom the *epibateria*, the sacrifices at embarking and at disembarking, were offered, who rules the sea, and protects all sailors, exactly as the Latin translator viewed it. This too is one of the alternatives which Virgil advances in his First Georgic (29–31), when questioning what kind of a god the great Octavianus is destined to be, a passage which has been supposed to have been written soon after the battle of Actium, when temples had already been decreed to him in Asia, and the Senate was showering honors upon him approaching the same exaltation. The passage runs thus: "Or wilt thou appear as the god of the measureless deep, and sailors worship thy divinity alone, Ultima Thule be thy slave, and Tethys win thee as her son-in-law by the offer of all her waves." Somewhat similarly Propertius (iii. 11. 71), addressing the sailor, says: "Therefore, whether seeking or leaving the harbor, O sailor, be mindful of Caesar on the whole Ionian deep." And at Aegae in Cilicia occurs an inscription in which he is addressed as a god in conjunction with Poseidon the Preserver, and Aphrodite Euploia (C. I. G. 4443).[1] Under this aspect we also find an explanation for that inscription (C. I. G. 4352) from the seaport town of Side in Pamphylia, where a certain Tuesianus has instituted a festival called the Tuesianian Epibaterion in honor of Athene and Apollo.[2] This is explained by Franz, followed by Liddell and Scott, as the "festival to celebrate the advent of a god"; which does not seem to satisfy Professor Sophocles in his Lexicon, for he expounds it as "a feast in honor of the arrival of (the statue of) a god," and puts a query after it. All difficulties vanish, however, if we suppose it to be a regular maritime festival, where sacrifices on the part of the city were offered for success in their ventures

[1] Θεῷ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι καὶ Ποσειδῶνι Ἀσφαλείῳ καὶ Ἀφροδείτῃ Εὐπλοίᾳ.

[2] ἐπιτελοῦντος θέμιν Παμφυλιακὴν Τουησιανεῖον ἐπιβατήριον θεῶν Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος.

upon the sea, and presented to Athene and Apollo as the deities who were there the object of prayer and worship by sailors. We have already seen Athene addressed in the *diabateria* and *hyperbateria*, and her connection with the sea is denoted on many coins by the accompanying symbol of the trident, and one story made her the daughter of Poseidon and Lake Tritonis (Paus. i. 14. 6). Athenian ships carried her statuettes at their prows, and it is probable that the *epibateria* were usually offered to her by Athenian sailors (Aristoph. Achar. 547, and Schol.; Ovid, Trist. i. 9. 1). Though the passage in Pausanias is a solitary instance of ἐπιβατήριος applied to Apollo, yet this deity appears often as the god of sailors under the epithet Delphinius, as early as the Homeric Hymn, and many temples in various quarters of the Greek world belonged to him as such. As we have seen, Apollonius says that Jason built an altar to Apollo *Ekbasios* (Argon. i. 966), and another to the same god as *Embasios* (Argon. i. 359, 404). A similar epithet is Aktios, as god of the seashore; and it was this god at Actium who cast aside his lyre, took his stand above the ship of Augustus, and flashed an unexpected light into the face of the enemy, while he grasped his bow and exhausted his quiver in defence of Rome and Augustus, as Propertius fondly declares (iv. 6). Upon this god the Roman conqueror never afterward wearied in lavishing his most splendid gifts, whether in his temple at Actium, on the Palatine Hill, where stood, as Propertius says (iv. 1. 3), the temple sacred to Phoebus of the Sea (*Navali Phoebo*), or elsewhere. The identification of Apollo with the Sun had been made in early days, and was now one of his chief phases; and as such he was also connected with seafarers, as the deity who put to flight the clouds and brought calm out of storm; as Philo again describes Augustus in the civil wars, and Philo is contrasting throughout the false Apollo, Caligula, with Augustus, to whom he ascribes all the qualities of the real god. And here it is interesting to compare the fact stated by Propertius (ii. 31. 11) that above the roof of the Palatine temple of the Naval Apollo was placed a chariot of the Sun in gold.

The close connection between Augustus and this Apollo-Phoebus meets us at every turn. Indeed, the story ran that he was the son of Apollo, that god in his own temple having appeared to the mother of the future Emperor in the form of the Aesculapian serpent. Before his birth, his father dreamed that the effulgence of the sun sprang from the womb of the mother that was to be. It is noticeable that Suetonius quotes this account from Asclepiades, of Mendes in Egypt, where the story may well have originated, and been fostered later at Rome. Dio and others repeat it in sober earnest. His father, while in Thrace soon after, consulted the oracle of Bacchus concerning his son, when the priests told him that certain prodigies were vouchsafed them which had never before occurred, except in the case of Alexander the Great, who also claimed descent from a god. On the following night he dreamed that his son appeared to him in more than mortal form, arrayed in the thunderbolt, sceptre, and arms of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, with a crown of Apollonian rays streaming from his head, and standing in a laureated chariot drawn by twelve horses of exceeding splendor. While still an infant, though left by his nurse at evening in his cradle, he was not to be found in the morning, until, after long search, he was discovered upon the topmost turret lying face to face with the rising sun. When entering the city, after the death of Julius, under a clear sky, the sun was suddenly encircled by a crown. Such stories must not be made light of; their influence upon his superstitious contemporaries and upon Augustus himself was extraordinary. While studying at Apollonia, he ascended with Agrippa to the observatory of the astrologer Theogenes, whom Agrippa had consulted before, and from whom he had received promises of the most exalted fortune. Augustus refused to disclose the day of his birth, through fear and shame lest his fortune should prove less exalted than that of his friend; but at last, when prevailed upon, the astrologer leaped from his seat, fell upon his knees before him, and offered his adorations as to a god. Augustus believed so thoroughly in his fortune that he even published his horoscope; and he wished it to be believed that

there was something of divine power in the peculiar brightness of his eyes, and was delighted if any one, under his concentrated gaze, dropped the eyes as if before the brilliancy of the sun (Suet. Aug. 79). He said in public that the comet which appeared soon after the death of Julius was believed by the people to show that the soul of Julius was received among the gods; but in his heart, as Pliny says (ii. 23), he rejoiced at the omen as produced for himself.

Having thus shown the intimate association inculcated between Augustus and Apollo, and especially the evident exertions to identify him as the son of that god, we may venture to adduce an Alexandrian coin (Feuardent, No. 541) bearing the naked head of Augustus on the obverse, with the legend *ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟ*, and on the reverse a temple with four columns and a prominent roof, with the legend *ΚΑΙΣΑ*. Between the two central columns rises an Aesculapian staff entwined by a serpent. Now, we know how common it was to represent a famous temple, with some attributes of the deity, on the coins of a city, and especially if the temple had just been built. For instance, on the Roman coins of Augustus we see the Palatine temple with six columns, and Apollo holding his lyre (Cohen, No. 45), and likewise that of Jupiter Tonans with the same number of columns, and Jupiter holding his sceptre (Cohen, 158). Another represents the temple of Mars Ultor with four columns, and military ensigns in the middle (Cohen, 37). Hence it seems to me possible that the Alexandrian coin just adduced presents to us with the usual conventionality the Sebastion of that city as the temple of Augustus, with the attributes of Apollo's son Aesculapius.

The idea of attainment of divinity by man was based at Rome upon the achievement of deeds too great for ordinary human nature. Horace has expressed it in his famous ode beginning *Justum et tenacem propositi virum*, and proceeds:

> Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
> Enisus arces attigit igneas,
> Quos inter Augustus recumbens
> Purpureo bibit ore nectar.

To this list of those who have attained the starry citadels by

such deeds, he adds Bacchus and Quirinus. It was the name of the last which Octavianus wished to assume, instead of Augustus, but was dissuaded by prudential reasons. The stages through which Caligula advanced, as described by Philo (Leg. ad Caium, 11–15), are significant in this connection. He began by likening himself to the demigods, Hercules, the Dioscuri, Bacchus, Trophonius, Amphiaraus, and Amphilochus; then he appeared dressed in the various guises of these, and carrying their attributes. Not content with this, he finally assumed the complete divinity of Apollo, Hermes, Mars. In the East it was usual to designate such divinities as the "New" so-and-so. We have seen how Cleopatra was denominated the New Isis; at Athens an inscription styles Caius, the adopted son of Augustus, the New Ares (C. I. G. 311); Caligula called himself the New Dionysos; Nero became the New Agathodaemon (C. I. G. 4699); Antinous, the New Iacchos and Pythios; Aurelius and Verus, the New Dioscuri (C. I. G. 1316); and some empress, the New Roman Here (C. I. G. 3956 b). In the language of the East, Augustus would have been the New Quirinus if he had followed his own inclination, and perhaps at Alexandria he may have been styled the New Aesculapius. Now Aesculapius is not only the Healer, as Philo denominated Augustus, but also the deliverer from the dangers of war, and the god of sailors. He is revealed in the second of these aspects by an inscription recently discovered on the site of the Asclepieion at Athens,[1] and in the last by inscriptions recovered from the island of Syra[2] (Bullet. Corresp. Hellénique, 1878, pp. 86, 87). Aristides also speaks of him as the god who saves from the deep and brings into a peaceful harbor (65), the one who leads and rules the universe, the savior of all, the helmsman of every ship (67). In the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Athens, Augustus is united with that god and Health in an inscription of adoration (Athenaion, v. p. 319); and in a similar precinct at Epidaurus, the great centre of Aesculapian worship, one inscription shows the people rendering their offerings to Livia,

[1] σ]ωθεὶς ἐκ [τ]ῶμ πολέμων καὶ λυτρωθε[ί]ς.

[2] εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῶ ['Ασκ]ληπιῶ οἱ ἐν τῶ μειλη[σιακῶ πλοίω.

the wife of Augustus; and another declares that the goddess Drusilla, the daughter of Germanicus, had a priestess there (Athenaion, x. p. 528).

Other considerations also may have contributed to this assimilation. Horace tells us that under the reign of Augustus each man may spend his days upon his own hillside, training his vine as he will. Thence he returns to his wines, and when the dessert is placed upon the table he gladly addresses Augustus as god; with many a prayer, and with abundant wine poured from the patera, he beseeches him, joining his godhead with the Lares, like Hellas mindful of Castor and mighty Hercules (C. iv. 5. 29–36). The deity among the Greeks, to whom this libation was poured after the removal of the viands, was generally Agathodaemon (Athen. xv. 47, 48), the giver of all good, whose connection with Hygeia was acknowledged in the same rites. This Agathodaemon, or Good Genius, in Egypt, is sometimes Kneph, or Chnubis, with his emblem the snake, the god of Canopus, but assumes many Protean forms as the representative of the sun, — sometimes Osiris, sometimes Serapis, who is now called Aesculapius, now Jove, now Osiris, now Pluto (Tacitus, Hist. iv. 84). Again, according to Wilkinson (Ancient Egyptians, iii. 121 seq.), Horus, the son of Osiris, has the title and attributes of Hat, or Agathodaemon. His distinguishing title is the avenger, and the support and defender of his father (as Augustus proclaimed himself), and he was the type of legitimate succession in Egypt, the representative of royalty and divine majesty; and as such there would be an especial desire to identify Augustus with him, as Sharpe says was actually done in the inscriptions of Upper Egypt, where he was styled "the Son of the Sun." Horus was also "the director of the sacred boats," under which form was indicated "the governor of the world"; just as Chnubis was Canopus "the pilot," at the Canopic mouth of the Nile, just east of Alexandria.

With such numerous lines tending to ready union, and with the quickness of imagination with which the people of the cosmopolitan Alexandria availed themselves of such mythological combinations, it is not difficult to see why the phase

which the deification of Augustus assumed was that of the god who presided over the main industry of the port, commerce over seas, — the god who cleared the sea of pirates, and directed the merchants' ventures safely across the waters ; to whom the *epibateria* should be fittingly sacrificed. It is this view which Philo has in mind throughout his description cited above, and in this there appears to have been a sort of transfer from the former dynasty of the Ptolemies. Alexander the Great commanded that Hephaestion, after his death, should be deified as a hero and worshipped as the god of mariners at the Pharos of Alexandria (Arr. An. vii. 23. 7 ; Lucian de Calumn. 17) ; but when the lighthouse on that island was built under Philadelphus, it was consecrated to the parents of this king, the first of the dynasty of the Ptolemies, and they became the saviors of seamen (Lucian, Quom. Hist. Conscrib. 62 ; Letronne, Recueil, ii. 528). Hence the Sebastion probably took the place of the Pharos as the centre of this cult.

That Augustus might be viewed under other phases, whether in Alexandria or elsewhere, is nowise surprising in that age, when complexity in unity and unity in complexity formed the prevailing idea in relation to the godhead. Zeus is the appellation which he receives in the inscription at Tentyris, and in that of Catilius at Philae ; and it was as the Olympian Zeus that Herod represented him at Caesarea. Horace regards him as a terrestrial Zeus, in C. i. 12. 51, iii. 5. 2 ; and Ovid in his Tristia, iii. 1. 35, and Fasti, i. 608. On many coins, and in some inscriptions, he is supposed to be one with Apollo, as C. I. G. 2903, Orelli 1436, and the dazzling effulgence that streamed from the vessel of the leader at Actium, while ascribed to Apollo by Propertius as quoted above, is assigned by Virgil to Augustus himself (Aen. viii. 681). This no doubt was a favorite aspect under which he was regarded, and is one of the phases which we have found established at Alexandria, where his aspect was likely to be as Protean as the luminary which served as his physical symbol.

From all these combinations it becomes pretty clear that

the obelisks were erected before the temple in Alexandria, not merely as ornaments, but as consecrations to the deity of the temple and the deity of light, thus continuing the use to which they had originally been put by the Egyptians. It has already been suggested by G. L. Feuardent that a reason for the selection of the crab to form the support to these shafts may be found in the fact that the sea-crab was a frequent emblem of Apollo, and especially of maritime towns and those which received their name of Apollonia from that deity; a connection which, like that of the dolphin, is no doubt to be explained from the maritime side of the Apollonian worship. In the case of the Alexandrians, too, it is noticeable that the sun is in the zodiacal sign of the Crab at the period of the year when the Nile begins to rise and pour the blessed waters of increase and plenty over the land, and the country becomes a navigable sea. Then, too, the sun is Horus in the fullest vigor of his strength, and then his rays rest longest upon the earth; for it is the solstitial period, at whose close the sun begins to imitate, as Macrobius tells us (Sat. i. 17), the retrograde motion of the crab, and Cancer was therefore styled one of the two Gates of the Sun; and the Agathodaemon serpent is described by Hephaestion as one of the three Decani in Cancer. Even the obelisks which were conveyed to Rome, Augustus did not regard as mere ornaments or insignia of a conquered land. Both were consecrated by him to the Sun (*Soli donum dedit*), and one of them served for many years as a sun-dial.

Of this worship of Augustus as Epibaterios, in Alexandria, during his lifetime, we have, as I interpret it, some curious confirmatory evidence from Suetonius. During the last days of the Emperor's life he determined to accompany Tiberius, on his way to Illyricum, as far as Beneventum. Following his usual habit of journeying by sea wherever it was possible, he sailed down the coast of Latium, and, making a circuit about the Bay of Naples, stopped for four days at Capri, one of his favorite resorts. As he was passing by the Gulf of Puteoli on his way thither, it chanced that an Alexandrian ship had just put into port, and the passengers and sailors,

dressed in white and crowned with garlands, were offering up their *epibateria*, or thanks for a prosperous voyage, and burning frankincense, singing in thanksgiving to their deity, the Emperor, "Through him they lived, through him they voyaged the deep, through him they enjoyed both liberty and fortune."[1] It does not appear that they knew the object of their thanks and praises to be passing by; and Suetonius goes on to relate that the Emperor was so delighted with what he had heard that he bestowed forty gold pieces upon each of his companions, and exacted a promise from every one that he would spend the entire amount in the purchase of Alexandrian merchandise, while he remained himself in a high state of self-exaltation and of hilarity during the entire remainder of his stay. In significant contrast with the feelings excited in the breast of Augustus by this incident stands the story related by Quintilian (vi. 3. 77), that when the people of Tarraco sent deputies to announce that a palm had sprung up upon his altar in their city, he replied with keen sarcasm, "It is plain how frequently you have built your sacrificial fire upon it."

The hymn of the Alexandrian sailors has its analogue in Horace's ode (C. iv. 5) written a short time before the obelisks were erected in Alexandria, and begging Augustus to return again to the city from the North: "Give back its light to thy native land, O noble leader; for when thy countenance beams upon the people like the spring, more grateful glides the day and more brightly shines the sun..... For the kine then roam the pastures in safety, Ceres and fostering Increase nurture the fields, and the sailors flit over a calm and peaceful sea." This idea we find again expressed in a somewhat different form on a coin struck in Asia, as early as 28 B.C. (Cohen, No. 39). On one side is the legend LIBERTATIS VINDEX; on the other, Peace holds a caduceus, and by her side rests a mystic coffer from which a serpent stands erect, — all encircled by a crown of laurel.

[1] Forte Puteolanum sinum praetervehenti vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrina, quae tantum quod appulerat, candidati coronatique et tura libantes fausta omina et eximias laudes congesserant, *per illum se vivere, per illum navigare, libertate atque fortunis per illum frui.* Suet. Aug. 98.

Hence the evidence which seems to me to show conclusively that the temple, before which the obelisks were erected, was originally built and consecrated to Augustus by the Alexandrians, is, in the first place, the unmistakable testimony of Philo, and, in the second, the particular phase of his worship which is proved to have existed there during his lifetime. Finally, the size and splendor of the structure itself, as detailed by Philo, preclude the idea that it was the Heroum of Julius mentioned by Dio; while the erection of the obelisks before it proves that in B.C. 13–12 it was what Philo describes it, the most conspicuous sanctuary in the city. Much, too, may be attributed to the zeal of Barbarus in the Emperor's behalf, which is evinced by his inscription at Casinum some ten years earlier,[1] and by the consecration at Philae as well as at Alexandria in the same year, 13–12. That the temple in later days, as time passed on, should have become a common shrine of the Caesars, is natural enough, and Neroutsos discovered on its site in 1875 an inscription containing the adoration of the Decani of the pretorian cohort to the Caesars who were gods.[2] This is dated in the sixth year of Lucius Aurelius Verus, A. D. 166, at which time at least ten of the Caesars had been formally deified by decree of the Senate, besides a number of the females of the family; but that the temple was originally built and dedicated by Augustus to Julius, there does not seem to be a particle of evidence.

[1] See Obelisk-Crab Inscriptions, pp. 31–33.

[2] Δεκανῶν τῶν ἐψ στόλῳ πραιτορίῳ τὸ προσκύνημα Θεῶν Καισάρων ἐν τῇδε τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγέγραπται. Καίσαρος Λ. Αὐρηλίου Οὐήρου σεβαστοῦ ἕκτῳ ἔτει. Bull. Cor. Hell., 1878, p. 177.

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NOTE. — Some weeks after the foregoing paper was read before the Association, through Mr. Davidson's deservedly appreciative review in the American Journal of Philology (iv. 219–222), I first became aware of the existence of Professor Lumbroso's "L' Egitto al Tempo dei Greci e dei Romani" (Rome, 1882), and learned that he had there devoted a chapter to "The Temple and Hymn to Augustus." Though the book was ordered at once, it did not reach me until the last proofs of the foregoing pages had been returned to the printer. Professor Lumbroso's conclusions are at one with mine in many points, notably in relation to the dedication of the temple to Augustus, the explanation of Epibaterios, and the worship of the Emperor as the god of seamen, and the interpre-

tation of the passage from Suetonius, which he calls the hymn of the sailors. He adds the following citation from Suidas, who appends it without explanation to the word ἡμίεργον: Ἀντωνίῳ δὲ ᾠκοδόμει νεὼν μέγαν, ὅσπερ οὖν ἡμίεργος ἀπελείφθη. Τῷ Σεβαστῷ δὲ ἐτελέσθη. With a proper acknowledgment of the provoking ambiguity of the reference here, Lumbroso conjectures that it relates to the Sebastion which was begun by Cleopatra for Antony, and completed by the Alexandrians for Augustus. In our ignorance of such matters in the wide empire of the East, we can say no more than that this conjecture is possible; but it deserves recording as a possible factor in the problem, pending the appearance of some new monumental evidence which may settle the question.

Another point worth noticing here is some testimony which I have recently met with, which proves conclusively that Augustus began to be worshipped as a god in Egypt immediately after the subjugation of the country. This testimony is from two Demotic Stelae in the British Museum, translated by Revillout in the Revue Égyptologique (1882, ii. 98–102). These stelae were originally from Memphis, where they were erected by the orders of Augustus in the seventh year of his reign. One is the memorial of Nofre-ho, wife of Pse-amen, the other, of the latter's brother, Imouth, members of the family of the high-priest of Memphis. Their father and mother are known through the hieroglyphic stelae translated by Dr. Birch in the Archaeologia, vol. xxxix. Imouth died in the last year of Cleopatra's reign, after a short incumbency of the high-priesthood, and his brother was appointed in his place by Augustus, "in the first year of the God, the son of the God, the great foreign God, Caesar Autocrator," and as "prophet of Caesar." These expressions are repeated in both memorials. It is noticeable that this family was especially devoted to Imouthos, the Egyptian Aesculapius, from whom Imouth received his name, from the fact that his mother, long childless, prayed to that deity for offspring, until he appeared to her in a dream and promised that her prayer should be fulfilled after the performance of certain rites. The attributes of this Aesculapius are very similar to those given by Philo to Augustus. See Birch, *loc. cit.*, p. 320, *seq.*

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